وزارة التعليم العالي والبحث العلمي

جامعة الجزائر **كلية العلوم السياسية والإعلام**

قسم العلوم السياسية **فرع العلاقات الدولية**

مذكرة لنيل شهادة الماجستير في العلوم السياسية والعلاقات الدولية بعنوان:

إصـــــلاح

جامـــــعة الــــدول العــــــربية

في ظـل

الــواقع الــعربي الــراهن

إعداد الطالب :
بن نكاع عصام

إشراف الأستاذ الدكتور:
امحند برقوق

العام الدراسي 2005

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135 [illegible] .35 [illegible]

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Autonomy

1938 27 Peel Partition Commission

[137]

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1937 Sir Archibeld

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1938 Malcolm Mcdonald

([138])

138 .36

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[144] [illegible] .38 [illegible]

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153 - [illegible] .142-140

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174- [illegible] 67

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176- [illegible] 68.

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179 - الشقيري، مرجع سابق، ص100.

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206 - [illegible] 35.

207 - [illegible] 1970 [illegible] 283.

208 - [illegible] 202.

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209 - [illegible] 192.

210 - [illegible] 203.

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[illegible] 1978 [illegible]

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-4 DĞž ǀǀƌŬ ǇǌŽĨŽĞ ϯ ĂůΗƐ ƵƉŝƉĚůŝž ŝĚƌĚ ůĂŽƉĚƚĂƐ ŶŝůĞžƉŽůĂĚŝĚ ǇĂƐƉĂ ŝŝ ƌŝĞƐƌ ϯ ŶĂĚǁĂƌ ĞĂƌůŝĂ ǇŝƌŽǌ.

ĞŝŶŽƐŝ (49) :

-1 ǌŽƉƌƵůĞƌ ŶƚĚƉĂĚ Σ ĂƚŝŝĞƌĞ ĞĞƐ ůĞƌƐ ĂƚĂŝ ŽůĂŝƉŝĂŝŽ ůŝŬĚĞƐ ůŝŬƌǁǇ Ă ϱϯ ƉƉŝƌĞŝƌĞ ƌŝƚƌŝŵ 9 ŶĂůƉƵŶ ϯ ĂƚĂĂŝŝ ŝŝƌǌŝ.

-2 ǀǌƉŽƐ ƌŝŬƌǁǇ ŝƚƌŝƐƚ ƌǁƌƉ ƌƐǁŽƌĞ ůŝŬĚĞƐ ůĂƌŝ ϯ ŶĚŽ ƉŽƚƐϯ ŝŝƌŝŝŶ ƉŽƚƐƉŽŶ ǇƉƉŝƚ ŶŝĞƐƌ ϯ ĂĚǁĂƌ ĞĂƌůŝ Ă ŶŝŝŝƌĂ ŵƉŽƉ ƌĞŝĂ ƉŝƌƉ ϯ ŝůǀ ƉŽƐƐƌ ƵĞƉƉƚƵ ϯ ĂƚĂŝŝŝ
ĞƐƌĞƐƚĂŝ ϱϯŝ ŝŶŽƐƵ ŶƌŝƵƌĞ 8 ŶƚĞĞ ǇƌŝƉƉ 1364 ĂĚŝŝ ϯ ƌ 2ϮĞĂĞŽ Σ (ĞƉƚƐ) 1945.

-3 ǌŽĂŝĞ Ǉ ůǁĞ ƉƉĞĚ ϯ ŝŝŽƵƉĞ ƌĞĞĂŽ ƉƌƉ ϯ ĂƚŝĞŝŝŝƉ ĂƉƉ ĂƉƉĞŝŽĞ ŶƚĞĂ ĂƌĞŝŝ ŝƚƌŝ ŝŝŝŝŝ ƌĂ ǇƉĂ ůĂǌĞ ϱĂƌ ϱ ŝŝƌǌŝ.

ĞƉƚĞ ƉƚĞĞƉŝ ƉƉƚĞ ŝŝŝŝĞ ĨƉƚĞ 25 ĞƐƌĞ Σ 1983.

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العدد 16

القمم العربية من 1946 إلى 2004

تـــاريخ القمم العربية

من أنشاص 1946 وحتى تونس (كما كان مفترضاً) 2004 :

- مؤتمر أنشاص- 1946
عقد في 28 مايو 1946، بدعوة من الملك فاروق في قصر أنشاص، وحضرته الدول السبع المؤسسة للجامعة العربية، وهي: مصر، وشرق الأردن، والسعودية، واليمن، والعراق، ولبنان، وسوريا. لم يصدر عن مؤتمر القمة بيان ختامي، وإنما مجموعة من القرارات أهمها:
- مساعدة الشعوب العربية المستعمرة على نيل استقلالها.
- قضية فلسطين قلب القضايا القومية، باعتبارها قطر لا ينفصل عن باقي الأقطار العربية.
- ضرورة الوقوف أمام الصهيونية، باعتبارها خطر لا يداهم فلسطين وحسب وإنما جميع البلاد العربية والإسلامية.
- الدعوة إلى وقف الهجرة اليهودية وقفا تاما، ومنع تسرب الأراضي العربية إلى أيدي الصهاينة، والعمل على تحقيق استقلال فلسطين.
- اعتبار أي سياسة عدوانية موجهة ضد فلسطين تأخذ بها حكومتا أمريكا وبريطانيا هي سياسة عدوانية تجاه كافة دول الجامعة العربية.
- الدفاع عن كيان فلسطين في حالة الاعتداء عليه.
- مساعدة عرب فلسطين بالمال، وبكل الوسائل الممكنة.
- ضرورة حصول طرابلس الغرب على الاستقلال.
- العمل على انهاض الشعوب العربية وترقية مستواها الثقافي والمادي، لتمكنها من مواجهة أي اعتداء صهيوني داهم.

2 2- مؤتمر بيروت- 1956
عقد في 13 نوفمبر 1956، بدعوة من الرئيس اللبناني كميل شمعون، إثر الاعتداء الثلاثي على مصر وقطاع غزة. شارك في القمة تسعة رؤساء عرب. وصدر عنها بيان ختامي أجمع فيه القادة على:
- مناصرة مصر ضد العدوان الثلاثي، وفي حالة عدم امتثال الدول المعتدية لقرارات الأمم المتحدة وامتنعت عن سحب قواتها، فإن الدول العربية المجتمعة ستلجأ إلى حق الدفاع المشروع عن النفس. واعتبار سيادة مصر هي أساس حل قضية السويس.
- تأييد نضال الشعب الجزائري من أجل الاستقلال.

3- مؤتمر القاهرة الأول- 1964

القاهرة - 1964
عقد في13 يناير 1964، في مقر الجامعة العربية في القاهرة بناءاً على اقتراح الرئيس المصري جمال عبد الناصر. وقد صدر عن المؤتمر بيان ختامي تضمن أهمية الإجماع على إنهاء الخلافات، وتصفية الجو العربي، وتحقيق المصالح العربية العادلة المشتركة، ودعوة دول العالم وشعوبها إلى الوقوف إلى جانب الأمة العربية في دفع العدوان الإسرائيلي. كما تضمن البيان مجموعة من القرارات أهمها:
- قيام إسرائيل خطر أساسي يجب دفعة سياسيا واقتصاديا وإعلاميا.
- إنشاء قيادة عربية موحدة لجيوش الدول العربية، يبدأ تشكيلها في كنف الجامعة العربية بالقاهرة.
- رداً على ما قامت به إسرائيل من تحويل خطير لمجرى نهر الأردن. تقرر إنشاء "هيئة استغلال مياه نهر الأردن" لها شخصية اعتبارية في إطار جامعة الدول العربية. مهمتها تخطيط وتنسيق وملاحظة المشاريع الخاصة باستغلال مياه نهر الأردن.
- إقامة قواعد سليمة لتنظيم الشعب الفلسطيني لتمكينة من تحرير وطنه وتقرير مصيره. وتوكيل أحمد الشقيري أمر تنظيم الشعب الفلسطيني.
- يجتمع الملوك والرؤساء العرب مرة في السنة علىالأقل، على أن يكون الاجماع المقبل في الإسكندرية في اغسطس .1964

4- مؤتمر الاسكندرية- 1964
عقد في 5 سبتمبر 1964، بقصر المنتزه بالإسكندرية، بحضور أربعة عشر قائدا عربيا. وصدر عن المؤتمر

بيانا ختاميا تضمن مجموعة من القرارات أهمها:
- خطة العمل العربي الجماعي في تحرير فلسطين عاجلا أو آجلا.
- البدء بتنفيذ مشروعات استغلال مياه نهر الأردن، وحمايتها عسكريا.
- الترحيب بمنظمة التحرير الفلسطينية، ودعم قرارها بإنشاء جيش التحرير الفلسطيني.
- مواجهة القوى المناوئة للعرب في مقدمتها بريطانيا، لاستعمارها بعض المناطق العربية واستغلال ثرواتها. وتقرر مكافحة الاستعمار البريطاني في جنوب شبه جزيرة العرب.
- مضاعفة التعاون وزيادة الإسناد الاقتصادي لدول المغرب العربي.
- الإيمان بالتضامن الإفريقي- الآسيوي، والاستبشار بنمو الوحدة الأفريقية.
- إنشاء مجلس عربي مشترك لاستخدام الطاقة الذرية للأغراض السلمية.
- التوجيه بوضع خطة إعلامية عربية.
- تصفية القواعد الإستعمارية التي تهدد أمن المنطقة العربية وسلامتها، وخاصة في قبرص وعدن.
- الترحيب بدعوة المللك الحسن الثاني في عقد لقاء القمة القادم في شهر سبتمبر لعام 1965، بالمملكة المغربية.

5- مؤتمر الدار البيضاء- 1965

الدار البيضاء - 1965
عقد في 13 سبتمبر 1965 في الدار البيضاء، بدعوة من الملك الحسن الثاني. وشارك فيه 12 دولة عربية بالاضافة إلى منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية، وقاطعتها تونس التي كانت على خلاف مع مصر. وصدر عن القمة بيان ختامي فيه مجموعة من القرارات أهمها:
- الموافقة على نص ميثاق التضامن العربي وتوقيعة من قبل ملوك ورؤساء الدول العربية المجتمعين.
- مؤازرة الدول العربية، ومساندة الجنوب المحتل والخليج العربي.
ـ المطالبة بتصفية القواعد الأجنبية وتأييد نزع السلاح ومنع انتشار الأسلحة النووية.
- دعم منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية وجيش التحرير، ودراسة مطلب إنشاء المجلس الوطني الفلسطيني. وإقرار الخطة العربية الموحدة للدفاع عن قضية فلسطين في الأمم المتحدة والمحافل الدولية.
- مواصلة استثمار مياه نهر الأردن وروافده طبقا للخطة المرسومة.
- التخلي عن سياسة القوة وحل المشاكل الدولية بالطرق السلمية.

6- مؤتمر الخرطوم- 1967
عقد في الخرطوم في 29 أغسطس 1967، بعد الهزيمة العربية في حرب يونيو، وحضرت جميع الدول العربية باستثناء سوريا التي دعت إلى حرب تحرير شعبية ضد إسرائيل. وصدر عن القمة مجموعة من القرارات أهمها:
- اللاءات العربية الثلاث (لا للاعتراف، لا للتفاوض، لا للصلح)
- تأكيد وحدة الصف العربي، والالتزام بميثاق التضامن العربي.
- التعاون العربي في إزالة آثار العدوان عن الأراضي الفلسطينية، والعمل على انسحاب القوات الإسرائيلية من الأراضي العربية.
- استئناف ضخ البترول إلى الولايات المتحدة الأمريكية وبريطانيا وألمانيا الغربية.
- إقرار مشروع انشاء صندوق الإنماء الاقتصادي العربي.
- سرعة تصفية القواعد الأجنبية في البلاد العربية.
الرباط - 1969

7- مؤتمر الرباط- 1969
عقد في 21 ديسمبر 1969 في الرباط، وشاركت فيه أربع عشرة دولة عربية، بهدف وضع استراتيجية عربية لمواجهة إسرائيل، ولكن قادة الدول العربية افترقوا قبل أن يصدر عنهم أي قرار أو بيان ختامي.

8- مؤتمر القاهرة- 1970
عقد هذا المؤتمر غير العادي في 23 سبتمبر 1970 في القاهرة، على إثر الاشتباكات العنيفة في الأردن بين الأردنيين والفلسطينيين. وقاطعته سوريا والعراق، والجزائر، والمغرب. وصدر عنه بيان ختامي، وأهم قراراته:

القاهرة - 1970 00
وجاءت القمة الطارئة بعد احداث سبتمبر الاسود التى شهدتها المخيمات الفلسطينية فى الاردن وكان من اهم التوصيات :
- الإنهاء الفوري لجميع العمليات العسكرية من جانب القوات المسلحة الأردنية وقوات المقاومة الفلسطينية.
- السحب السريع لكلا القوتين من عمان، وإرجاعها إلى قواعدها الطبيعية والمناسبة.

- إطلاق المعتقلين من كلا الجانبين.
- تكوين لجنة عليا لمتابعة تطبيق هذا الاتفاق.
وانتهت مشاورات المؤتمر إلى مصالحة كل من ياسر عرفات رئيس منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية والملك حسين.

9- مؤتمر الجزائر- 1973
عقد في 26 نوفمبر 1973 في الجزائر، وحضرته ست عشرة دولة عربية بمبادرة من سوريا ومصر بعد حرب أكتوبر، وقاطعته العراق وليبيا.
صدر عن المؤتمر بيان ختامي ومجموعة من القرارات، أهمها:
- إقرار شرطان للسلام مع إسرائيل: الأول: إنسحاب إسرائيل من جميع الأراضي العربية المحتلة وفي مقدمتها القدس. الثاني: استعادة الشعب الفلسطيني لحقوقه الوطنية الثابتة.
- تقديم جميع أنواع الدعم المالي والعسكري للجبهتين لسورية والمصرية من أجل استمرار نضالهما ضد العدو الإسرائيلي.
- استمرار استخدام سلاح النفط العربي ورفع حظر تصدير النفط للدول التي تلتزم بتأييدها للقضية العربية العادلة. وتوجيه تحية تقدير للدول الأفريقية التي اتخذت قرارات بقطع علاقاتها مع إسرائيل.
- القيام بإعادة تعمير ما دمرته الحرب من أجل رفع الروح النضالية عند الشعوب العربية.
- انضمام الجمهورية الموريتانية إلى الجامعة العربية.

10- مؤتمر الرباط- 1974
عقد في 26 أكتوبر 1974 في الرباط، وشاركت فيه جميع الدول العربية ومن بينها الصومال التي تشارك لأول مرة في مؤتمر قمة عربي. ومن قراراته:
- التحرير الكامل لجميع الأراضي العربية المحتلة في عدوان يونيو 1967، وتحرير مدينة القدس، وعدم التنازل عن ذلك.
- تعزيز القوى الذاتية للدول العربية: عسكريا، واقتصاديا، وسياسيا. وتجنب المعارك والخلافات الهامشية.
- اعتماد منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية ممثلا شرعيا ووحديا للشعب الفلسطيني.
- توثيق الصلة والتعاون مع المنظمات والمحافل الدولية.
- تقدير الاحتياجات السنوية لدعم دول المواجهة عسكريا.
- إنشاء صندوق خاص للإعلام العربي.
- توحيد الموقف العربي من قضية الصحراء العربية، وتقديم معونات للصومال وموريتانيا.
- الموافقة على تلبية دعوة الرئيس الصومالي محمد سياد بري في استضافة القمة العربية القادمة في العاصمة الصومالية مقديشو. وتحديد شهر يونيو 1975 موعدا لذلك.

11- مؤتمر الرياض- 1976

الحرب في لبنان
عقد في الرياض في 16 أكتوبر 1976، بمبادة من السعودية والكويت، لبحث الأزمة في لبنان ودراسة سبل حلها. وهو مؤتمر طارئ ضم ست دول عربية فقط هي: السعودية، ومصر، وسوريا، والكويت، ولبنان، ومنظمة التحرير الفلسطينية. ولم يصدر عن المؤتمر بيان ختامي. ومن قراراته:
- وقف إطلاق النار والاقتتال نهائيا في كافة الأراضي اللبنانية والتزام جميع الأطراف بذلك.
- تعزيز قوات الأمن العربية الحالية لتصبح قوات ردع داخل لبنان. وإعادة الحياة الطبيعية إلى لبنان.
- التعهد العربي، وتأكيد منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية على احترام سيادة لبنان ووحدته.
- توجيه الحملات الإعلامية بما يكرس وقف القتال وتحقيق السلام وتنمية روح التعاون والإخاء بين جميع الأطراف. والعمل على توحيد الإعلام الرسمي.

12- مؤتمر القاهرة- 1976
عقد في القاهرة في 25 أكتوبر 1976 وحضرته أربع عشرة دولة لاستكمال بحث الأزمة اللبنانية التي بدأت في المؤتمر السداسي في الرياض.
وقد صدر عن المؤتمر بيان ختامي وردت فيه مجموعة من القرارات أهمها:
- الترحيب بنتائج أعمال مؤتمر الرياض السداسي، والمصادقة على قراراته.
- أن تساهم الدول العربية كل حسب إمكانياتها في إعادة إعمار لبنان.
- تعهد متبادل في عدم التدخل في الشؤون الداخلية لأي بلد عربي.
- إنشاء صندوق لتمويل قوات الأمن العربية في لبنان. - مناشدة دول العالم إدانة العدوان الإسرائيلي.

13- مؤتمر بغداد- 1978 قمة مقاطعة مصر عربياً :
عقد في 2 نوفمبر 1978 في بغداد بناء على طلب من العراق، إثر توقيع مصر اتفاقيات كامب ديفيد للسلام مع إسرائيل، وشارك في المؤتمر عشر دول مع منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية.

لم يصدر عن المؤتمر بيان ختامي، أما أهم قراراته فهي:
- عدم موافقة المؤتمر على اتفاقيتي كامب ديفيد.
- توحيد الجهود العربية من أجل معالجة الخلل الاستراتيجي العربي.
- دعوة مصر إلى العودة عن اتفاقيتي كامب ديفيد.
- حظر عقد صلح منفرد
-دعم الجبهة الشمالية والشرقية ومنظمة التحرير الفلسطينية ماديا.
- نقل مقر الجامعة العربية وتعليق عضوية مصر.
- تطبيق قوانين المقاطعة على الشركات والأفراد المتعاملين في مصر مع إسرائيل، والتمييز بين الحكومة والشعب في مصر.
- إلغاء القرارات التي اتخذها مجلس الجامعة العربية بمقاطعة اليمن.

14- مؤتمر تونس- 1979

تونس - 1979
عقد في تونس في 20 نوفمبر 1979، بدعوة من الرئيس حبيب بورقيبة. وصدر عن المؤتمر بيان ختامي فيه مجموعة من القرارات، منها:
- الصراع مع إسرائيل طويل الأمد، وهو عسكري وسياسي واقتصادي وحضاري.
- تجديد الإدانة العربية لاتفاقيتي كامب ديفيد.
- التصدي لمؤامرة الحكم الذاتي، وتوسيع نطاق التضامن العالمي مع نضال الشعب الفلسطسني، من أجل إفشال مخططات الاحتلال الصهيوني وهزيمته.
- التصدي لنقل العاصمة الإسرائيلية إلى القدس.
- إدانة سياسة الولايات المتحدة الأميركية، واعتبارها تؤثر سلبا على العلاقات والمصالح بين الدول العربية والولايات المتحدة الأمريكية.
- إدانة العدوان الإسرائيلي على الجنوب اللبناني، والتأكيد على سيادة لبنان واستقلاله ووحدته الوطنية.
- إدانة قرارا النظام المصري بتزويد إسرائيل من مياه النيل.
- استمرار إحكام المقاطعة للنظام المصري.
- تعمير لبنان، ومساعدة الفلسطينيين في الجنوب اللبناني.

15- مؤتمر عمان- 1980

عمان - 1980
عقد في عمان في 25 نوفمبر 1980، بحضور خمس عشرة دولة عربية، وصدر عن المؤتمر بيان ختامي تضمن مجموعة من القرارات أهمها:
- عزم القادة العرب على إسقاط اتفاقيتي كامب ديفيد للسلام مع إسرائيل.
- التأكيد أن قرار مجلس الأمن رقم 242 لا يتفق مع الحقوق العربية، ولا يشكل أساسا صالحا لحل أزمة القضية الفلسطينية.
- الدعوة إلى وقف إطلاق النار بين العراق وإيران، وتأييد حقوق العراق المشروعة في أرضه ومياهه.
- إدانة الاعتداء الإسرائيلي على لبنان، ودعم وحدة وسلامة أراضي لبنان.
- إدانة استمرار حكومة واشنطن في تأييد إسرائيل وإلصاق صفة الإرهاب بمنظمة التحرير الفلسطينية.
- المصادقة على وثيقة استراتيجية العمل الاقتصادي العربي المشترك حتى عام 2000.
- الموافقة علىاستمرار مقاطعة مصر.

فاس -1981
16- مؤتمر فاس- 1981
عقد في فاس في 25 نوفمبر 1981، وشاركت فيه جميع الدول العربية باستثناء مصر، وانتهت أعمال المؤتمر بعد خمس ساعات، عندما رفضت سوريا مسبقا خطة الملك فهد لحل أزمة الشرق الأوسط، وتقرر إرجاء أعمال المؤتمر إلى وقت لاحق في فاس أيضا.

17- مؤتمر فاس- 1982
عقد في فاس في 6 سبتمبر 1982، شاركت فيه تسع عشرة دولة وتغيبت ليبيا ومصر. واعترفت فيه الدول العربية ضمنيا بوجود إسرائيل. وصدر عنه بيان ختامي تضمن مجموعة من القرارات أهمها:
- إقرار مشروع السلام العربي مع إسرائيل، أهم ما تضمنه: انسحاب إسرائيل من جميع الأراضي العربية التي اختلها عام 1967، وإزالة المستعمرات الإسرائيلية في الأراضي التي احتلت بعد عام 1967 وقيام الدولة الفلسطينية المستقلة وعاصمتها القدس، وتأكيد حق الشعب الفلسطيني في تقرير مصيره، وتعويض من لا يرغب بالعودة.
- الإدانة الشديدة للعدوان الإسرائيلي على الشعبين اللبناني والفلسطيني.

- بخصوص الحرب العراقية الإيرانية، دعا المؤتمرالى ضرورة التزام الطرفين لقرارات مجلس الأمن، وأعلن أن أي اعتداء على أي قطر عربي اعتداء على البلاد العربية جميعا.
- مساندة الصومال في مواجهة وإخراج القوة الأثيوبية من أراضيها.

18- مؤتمر الدار البيضاء- 1985
عقد في الدار البيضاء في 20 أغسطس 1985، بناءا على دعوة من الحسن الثاني ملك المملكة المغربية. وصدر عن المؤتمر بيان ختامي تضمن مجموعة من القرارات أهمها:
- تأليف لجنتين لتنقية الأجواء العربية وحل الخلافات بين الأشقاء العرب.
- الاستنكار والأسف الشديد لإصرار إيران على مواصلة الحرب، وإعلان المؤتمر تعبئة جميع الجهود لوضع حد سريع للقتال.
- التنديد بالإرهاب بجميع أشكاله وأنواعه ومصادره، وفي مقدمته الإرهاب الإسرائيلي داخل في فلسطين.
- المطالبة برفع الحصار الذي تفرضه ميليشيات حركة أمل الشيعية على المخيمات الفلسطينية.

19- مؤتمر عمان- 1987
عقد في عمان في 8 نوفمبر 1987، شاركت فيه عشرين دولة عربية ومنظمة التحريرالفلسطينية، صدر عنه بيان ختامي ومجموعة من القرارات أهمها:
- إدانة إيران لإحتلالها جزءا من الأراضي العراقية والتضامن مع العراق.
- تضامن المؤتمر مع السعودية والكويت والتنديد بالأحداث التي اقترفها الإيرانيون في المسجد الحرام بمكة المكرمة.
- التمسك باسترجاع كافة الأراضي العربية المحتلة والقدس الشريف كأساس للسلام، وضرورة بناء القوة الذاتية للعرب.
- إدانة الإرهاب الدولي.
- العلاقات الدبلوماسية بين أي دولة عضو في الجامعة العربية وبين مصر عمل من أعمال السيادة تقررها كل دولة بموجب دستورها وقانونها.
تكثيف الحوار مع حاضرة الفاتيكان، ودعوة الملك حسين إلى أجراء الاتصالات معها.

20- مؤتمر الجزائر- 1988
عقد في الجزائر بمبادرة من الرئيس الجزائري الشاذلي بن جديد في 7 يونيو 1988. وصدر عن المؤتمر بيان ختامي، ومن قراراته:
- دعم الانتفاضة الشعبية الفلسطينية، وتعزيز فعاليتها وضمان استمراريتها.
- المطالبة بعقد مؤتمر دولي للسلام في الشرق الأوسط تحت إشراف الأمم المتحدة.
- تجديد إلتزام المؤتمر بتطبيق أحكام مقاطعة إسرائيل.
- أدانة السياسة الأمريكية المشجعة لإسرائيل في مواصلة عدوانها وانتهاكاتها.
- الوقوف إلى جانب لبنان في إزالة الاحتلال الإسرائيلي من جنوب لبنان.
- تجديد التضامن الكامل مع العراق والوقوف معه في حربه ضد إيران.
- إدانة الاعتداء الأميركي على ليبيا، وتأييده لسيادة ليبيا على خليج سرت.
- إدانة الإرهاب الدولي والممارسات العنصرية.
- الاهتمام بالانفراج الدولي في البدء بالنزع التدريجي للأسلحة النووية.

21- مؤتمر الدار البيضاء- 1989 مصر تستعيد وضعها على الصعيد العربى :
الدار البيضاء - 1989
عقد في 23 مايو 1989، في الدار البيضاء، بحضور مصر التي استعادت عضويتها في الجامعة العربية، وتغيب لبنان الذي كانت تتنازع السلطة فيه حكومتان.
لم يصدر عن المؤتمر بيان ختامي، وأصدر مجموعة من القرارات، من بينها:
- تقديم الدعم والمساعدة المعنوية والمادية للانتفاضة الفلسطينية.
- تأييد عقد المؤتمر الدولي للسلام في الشرق الأوسط.
- تاييد قيام دولة فلسطين المستقلة والعمل لتوسيع الاعتراف بها.
- دعم الموقف الفلسطيني في موضوع الانتخابات وأن تتم بعد الانسحاب الإسرائيلي من الأراضي الفلسطينية، وبإشراف دولي، وفي إطار عملية السلام الشاملة.

22- مؤتمر بغداد- 1990

بغداد - 1990
عقد في 28 مايو 1990 بدعوة من الرئيس العراقي صدام حسين في بغداد، وغابت عنه لبنان وسوريا، وبحث المؤتمر كموضوع رئيسي التهديدات التي يتعرض لها الأمن القومي العربي واتخاذ التدابير اللازمة حيالها. صدر عن المؤتمر بيان ختامي تضمن مجموعة من القرارات أهمها:

- الترحيب بوحدة اليمنين الشمالي والجنوبي بعدما كانا دولتين مستقلتين.
- تأييد استمرار الانتفاضة الفلسطينية، والتأكيد على دعمها ماديا ومعنويا.
- إدانة تهجير اليهود وعدم شرعية المستوطنات.
- إدانة قرار الكونغرس الأميركي اعتبار القدس عاصمة لإسرائيل.
- توفير الحماية الدولية للشعب الفلسطيني.
- معارضة المحاولات الأميركية إلغاء قرار إعتبار الصهيونية شكلا من أشكال العنصرية.
- دعم العراق في حقها امتلاك جميع أنواع التكنولوجيات الحديثة.
- إدانة اتهديدات الأميركية لليبيا، والتضامن مع ليبيا ضد الحصار الاقتصادي.
- إطلاق سراح أسرى الحرب بين الجانبين العراقي والإيراني.
- انتظام عقد مؤتمرات القمة العربية، وتقرير عقد القمة المقبلة في مصر.

23- مؤتمر القاهرة- 1990
عقد في 15 أغسطس 1990 في القاهرة على إثر الغزو العراقي للكويت، وتغيب عن المؤتمر تونس التي كانت تدعو إلى تأجيلها. ولم يحضر القمة قادة الدول الخليجية إلا أمير البحرين، ومثل الكويت ولي عهدها سعد العبد الله الصباح. لم يصدر عن المؤتمر بيان ختامي، أما أهم القرارت التي اتخذها المؤتمر فهي:
- إدانة العدوان العراقي على دولة الكويت، وعدم الاعتراف بقرار العراق ضم الكويت إليه. ومطالبة العراق بسحب قواته فورا إلى مواقعها الطبيعية.
- بناءا على طلب من الرياض، تقرر إرسال قوة عربية مشتركة إلى الخليج.

24- مؤتمر القاهرة- 1996
بعد انقطاع دام حوالي ست سنوات، عقد مؤتمر القاهرة الطارئ في 21يونيو 1996، بدعوة من الرئيس المصري حسني مبارك، حضرته كافة الدول العربية باستثناء العراق. وصدر عن المؤتمر بيان ختامي تضمن مجموعة من القرارات، من بينها:
- الموافقة المبدئية على إنشاء محكمة العدل العربية، وميثاق الشرق للأمن والتعاون العربي، وآلية جامعة الدول العربية للوقاية من النزاعات وإدارتها وتسويتها.
- الإسراع في إقامة منظمة التجارة الحرة العربية الكبرى.
- التأكيد من جديد على شروط السلام الشامل مع إسرائيل وهي الانسحاب الكامل من الأراضي الفلسطينية بما فيها القدس، ومن الجولان والجنوب اللبناني، والتوقف عن النشاط الاستيطاني.
- التضامن العربي مع دولتي البحرين والإمارات ضد التهديد الإيراني.
- الحفاظ على وحدة وسلامة العراق، ودعوته إلى تنفيذ قرارات مجلس الأمن.

25- مؤتمر القاهرة- 2000

القاهرة - 2000
عقد في القاهرة في 21 أكتوبر إثر أحداث العنف التي تفجرت ضد الفلسطينيين بعد أن دخل شارون الحرم القدسي، وسمي بمؤتمر قمة الأقصى. حضر المؤتمر جميع الدول العربية باستثناء ليبيا التي مثلها وفد دبلوماسي انسحب في اليوم الثاني من القمة. وقد تضمن البيان الختامي الذي أصدره المؤتمر عدة قرارات أهمها:
- إنشاء صندوق باسم انتفاضة القدس برأس مال 200 مليون دولار أميركي لدعم أسر الشهداء، وتأهيل الجرحى والمصابين.
- إنشاء صندوق باسم صندوق الأقصى برأس مال 800 مليون دولار لدعم الاقتصاد الفلسطيني.
- السماح باستيراد السلع الفلسطينية بدون قيود كمية أو نوعية.

26- مؤتمر عمان 2001 :
عمان 2001 00 اتخذت فيه القمة عدد 14 قراراً فى مقدمتها تعهد القادة العرب بدعم صمود الشعب الفلسطينى مالياً وسياسياً وتحذير اسرائيل من مخاطر تنصلها من الاسس التى قامت عليها منذ مؤتمر مدريد 1991 كما أكد المؤتمر على تمسك القادة بقطع العلاقات مع الدول التى تنقل سفاراتها الى القدس 00 ووافقوا على عقد المؤتمر الاقتصادى العربى الاول فى القاهرة فى نوفمبر 2001 00وقررت القمة تكليف الملك عبد الله بوصفه رئيس الدورة الحالية للقمة باجراء المشاورات اللازمة لبحث الحالة بين العراق والكويت 00 كما وافقت القمة على اختيار السيد عمرو موسى اميناً عام للجامعة خلفاً للدكتور عصمت عبد المجيد

27_ مؤتمر بيروت 2002:
بيروت _2002 وقد طغت على اعمال هذا المؤتمر الحالة فى الاراضى الفلسطينية حيث زاد التوتر فى الاراضى المحتلة مع اجتياح غزة ومذبحة مخيم جنين وحصار الرئيس الفلسطينى ياسر عرفات فى

مقره 00 واكدت القمة كالعادة على دعمها لصمود ونضال الشعب الفلسطينى .

28_ مؤتمر القاهرة 2003 :
وقد عقد هذا المؤتمر فى ظل ظروف بالغة السوء حيث كان قد تم غزو العراق من قبل القوات الامريكية والبريطانية 00 وشدد البيان الختامى على ضرورة احترام سيادة شعب العراق على اراضيه 0 وخرج العرب من الاجتماع ليسوا بأفضل حال مما دخلوا ان لم يكن أسوء حيث تبادل الزعيم الليبى القذافى الاتهامات فى جلسة على الهواء مع ولى العهد السعودى 00 وأحدثت المبادرة الاماراتية التى اقترحت تنحى صدام حسين من السلطة ردود فعل مختلفة بين القادة العرب وكانت سبباً بعد ذلك فى ازمة عميقة بين الامارات وامين عام الجامعة عمرو موسى 0

29ـ مؤتمر تونس 2004 :
كان من المفترض ان تعقد يومى 29 30 مارس 2004 00 وتم الغائها قبل انعقادها بيوم وسط احباط الشارع العربى الذى لم يفهم حتى عدم القدرة على مناقشة التحديات على عظمها 00 ولم يعرف بعد حتى كتابة هذه السطور ما اذا كانت القمة ستنعقد ام لا 00 لاسيما بعد عرض مصر استضافة القمة 0

ملاحظات عامة على مسيرة العمل العربى المشترك :
==

من خلال النظر في العرض السابق لمؤتمرات القمة وأهم قراراتها، يمكن الخروج بمجموعة من الملاحظات:
1- تأخرت بدايات العمل العربي المشترك، حتى استطاعت أغلب البلاد العربية الحصول على استقلالها بداية الأربعينيات، والذي توج بإنشاء جامعة الدول العربية في 1945.
2- صدر أكثر من 200 قرار عن 25 مؤتمرا للقمة العربية خلال 56 عاما، من أشهرها: قرار اللاءات الثلاثة (لا للاعتراف، لا للتفاوض، لا للصلح)، ومقاطعة مصر إثر توقيعها معاهدة سلام مع إسرائيل، وتأسيس منظمة التحرير الفلسطينية، وإقرار مشروع السلام العربي مع إسرائيل.
3- منذ عام 1985 وخلال أكثر من خمسة عشر عاما لم يعقد أي مؤتمر قمة عادي، وكانت جميعها مؤتمرات طارئة. ومن بين المؤتمرات الخمسة والعشرين هناك ثلاثة عشر مؤتمر عادي، واثنا عشر مؤتمر طارئ.
4 - رغم تأكيد مؤتمرات القمة منذ بداية انعقادها في 1964 وحتى 1996 أهمية عقد مؤتمرات دورية أكثر من مرة، فإن ستة منها فقط عقدت بناء على التزام بدورية القمة وفي مؤتمر القاهرة عام 2000 اعتبر عيد الجامعة السنوي هو الموعد الدائم والمحدد لعقد القمة سنويا. وكان مؤتمر عمان التزاما بذلك، وغلب على المؤتمرات التعامل مع الأزمات والأحداث الطارئة.
5 ـ الصراع العربي الإسرائيلي هو القضية المحورية في جميع مؤتمرات القمة. كانت قضية أطماع إسرائيل في مياه نهر الأردن أهم دافع عربي لعقد أول مؤتمر عربي عام 1964، وعقد مؤتمر الخرطوم بعد حرب عام 1967، وعقد مؤتمر الجزائر بعد حرب 1973 وكانت انتفاضة الأقصى المستمرة إلى الآن أهم دافع لعقد مؤتمر القمة العربي 0
6ـ ان المطلع على المحاضر الختامية للقمم العربية والقرارات الصادرة عنها لايستطيع التمييز بينهما لانها جميعاً تشبه بعضها وتصلح لكل قمة وكل عام 00 كلها قرارات تمت صياغتها بعناية فى واقع لايعترف بلغة الكلام ولكن بلغة القوة فقط 0

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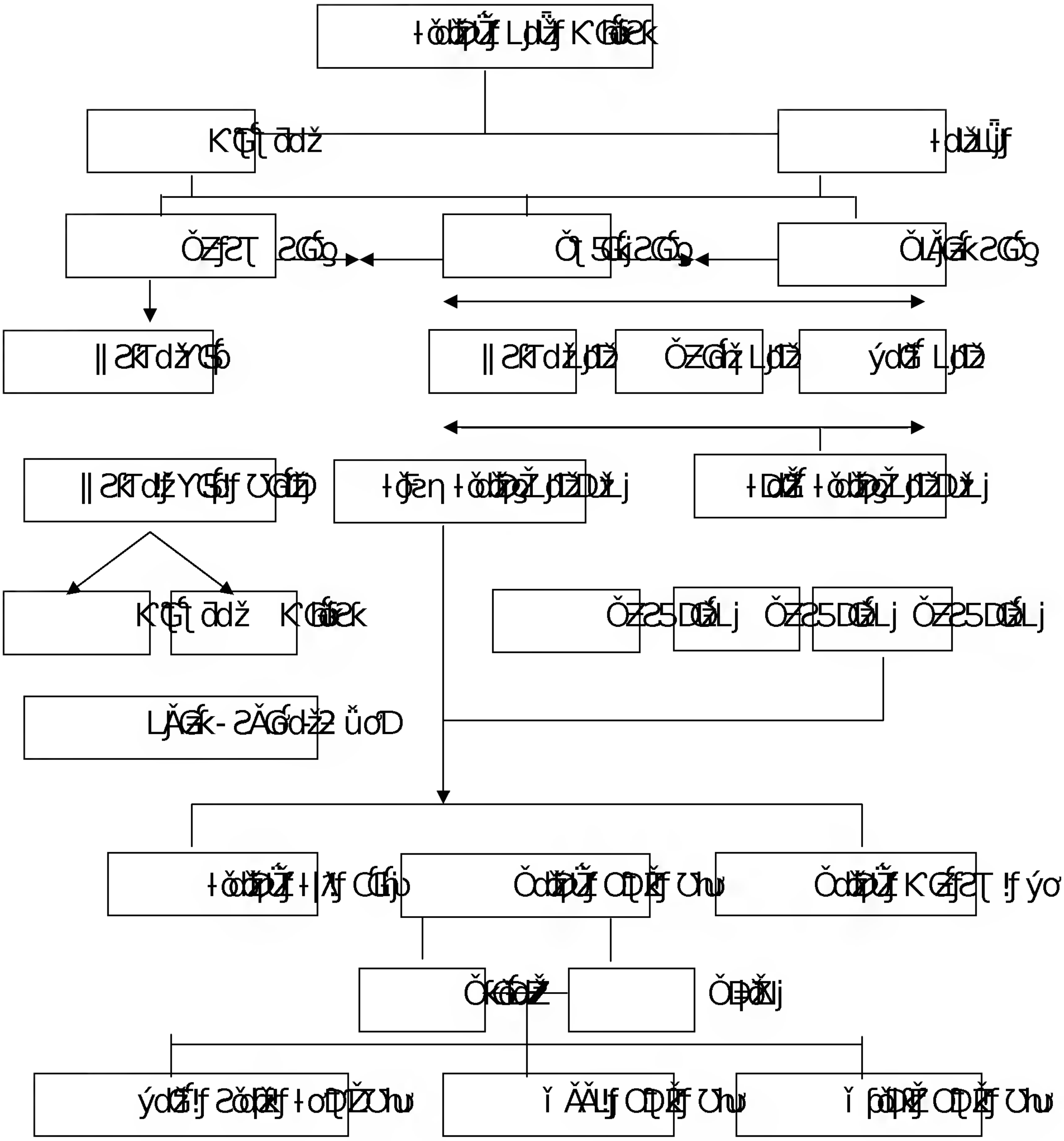
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[illegible] [illegible]

....[illegible]

1.......

22.................... [illegible]

23.. [illegible] I

23................................ [illegible] - 1- 1

23 .... [illegible]

32 ....: [illegible]

32.. [illegible] 1

36 .... [illegible] 2

40 .... [illegible] 2- 1

40 ....([illegible])

43 .... [illegible]

44 .... [illegible]

48 .... [illegible] 3- 1

48 .... [illegible]

52 .... [illegible]

56............................... [illegible] - II

57 .... [illegible] 1- 2

59 .... [illegible] - 2- 2

61... [illegible] 3- 2

63 .... [illegible] 4- 2

65 .... [illegible] - 5- 2

68 .... ƗƮƮƤƙǌǆƗǻƾǄǃƒƙƒǆǕǆǁƓǃ ǆ- 6- 2

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85...................................... ƗǒǃƗǃǃ ǆǁǃ - 3

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87........................... Ǐ ǃǃ ǃǃǃǚǔǈǃǑǄƗǒǍǃ ƗǄǃ ǆǃǃǃ- 2- 2

87........................ƗǒǍǃ ƗǄǃǃǃ ǃǃ ǃǃǃǚǃǃǃǃǃ ǁǃǃ - Ɗ

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